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EXCAVATIONS BY THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AT PLATAIA IN 1891.

DISCOVERY OF A TEMPLE OF ARCHAIC PLAN.

[PLATES XX, XXI.]

In presenting Mr. Washington's report for publication, I wish to state that with the work of this third season our excavations on the site of Plataia will be suspended for the present. It is a matter of considerable gratification, that, owing to the intelligent enthusiasm and perseverance of Mr. Washington, we have now discovered one interesting and important edifice of the ancient city, of which so few vestiges remain, and are able to identify this with approximate certainty as the Heraion.

Mr. F. C. Penrose has read Mr. Washington's paper in the manuscript, and has made some valuable suggestions.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

Work was begun, on April 20, 1891, with sixteen men, at a point in the plain about 500 metres north of the plateau, and on the west side of the Thebes-Alopétrypi road, where lie some cut and squared stones. Part of a day was spent here with no great result, the roughly cut blocks of coarse, gray marble having seemingly formed a platform or base, but being now too much scattered to determine the dimensions. Water was met with 0.80 m. down, and the digging was shifted to a square platform, made of cut blocks of the same stone as the preceding. This lies at a distance of 300 m. N.N.E. of the ruined building marked "*Ruin*," north of *W* on the map of Plataia drawn by the School last year.¹ A day was spent in digging round it, resulting in the discovery of a clay lamp and two or three coarse unglazed red vases of Byzantine period, as well as two shallow graves, apparently also Byzantine. These were floored with large square tiles, but,

¹ *AJA*, vol. VI, PLATE XXIII.

unlike most Byzantine graves, had no side or top stones, the body (one in each grave) having been simply laid in a shallow hole with a tiled bottom.

The dimensions of the platform, which is square and oriented exactly north and south, are as follows: diameter, each way, 3.80 m., height 1.45 m.; it is composed of three courses of squared blocks, nine in each, every block measuring 1.25 m. square and 0.45 m. deep, the lowest course projecting a couple of centimetres all around. The blocks are fairly shaped, but roughly finished, laid together without clamps or mortar, the whole being evidently a foundation for some monument. At a distance of 8 m. to both north and south a rough wall of smaller squared stones was found, running east and west. Trenches were sunk inside the supposed enclosure, but with no result, except the finding of the graves and pottery above mentioned, all of which are of a later date than the two outer walls or the platform. The ground was very heavy, as is usually the case at this season in the plain, and, the water-sheet having been reached at a depth of less than 1.50 m., the work here was discontinued. Small diggings were also made at two or three other points to the north, uncovering some blocks, apparently parts of a similar base, but very much broken up. A plain sarcophagus-lid of gray marble was found a short distance to the north of the large base, and another lies on the slope of the plateau, below the point *W* (see map of last year's report) of the wall, while in the field north of the "*Ruin*" there lies a square stone with a slot cut to receive a stele.

As will be seen on referring to the map of Plataia,² there is between *V* and *W* a long stretch without remains of walls; and in this a small rivulet runs down to the north at the bottom of the shallow valley. The road, marked *Alopétrypi Road*, branches a short distance to the north of the excavations, the easterly branch going to the small hamlet of Alopétrypi, while the westerly branch keeps on to the north and joins the main road from Kokla to Thebes a few miles further on.

These three facts: the presence of a line of bases, apparently of funereal monuments, together with sarcophagus-covers, the existence of a road to Thebes at the present day along them, and the shallow valley toward which the line of bases runs, with a gentle slope, giving easy access to the plateau, point to this line as that of the ancient

² *AJA*, *loc. cit.* The rivulet has unfortunately been omitted.

road to Thebes, along which the 212 Plataëans proceeded on their escape from the city during the siege.³

Half a day was spent in sinking two long trenches, running north and south, on the summit of the ridges between the two brooks, inside the north wall, east of the point *W*. Virgin soil was struck at a depth of one metre, but no ancient remains were found, with the exception of a few fragments of Roman glass. Work was begun next day at *Church I*, three long trenches being dug to the south and east of it. Large quantities of broken pottery and tile-fragments were met with, but nothing of importance; and, after a whole day had been spent in sinking the trenches to a depth of two metres, the spot was abandoned.

On April 23, work was begun on the small terrace to the south of the so-called *Votive Cuttings*.⁴ A plan of this small terrace is given in PLATE XX, the trenches and excavated portions being shaded with dots. This terrace, about 30–40 metres broad and from 1.50 to 2 m. above the fields, runs like a shelf from a little to the west of the excavated site to the vicinity of the east wall; it is bounded on the south by the very rocky, and slightly higher and rising ground of the plateau proper, where the underlying rock occasionally protrudes through the soil. Along the edge of this I found hewn wall-blocks, some fallen below the terrace and others almost *in situ*. The wall which they formed belonged apparently to what was called in last year's Report the second period of Plataëan walls.

A few words may be useful to describe the position of this wall, which, unfortunately, cannot be added to the PLAN. The first blocks occur a little to the east of the votive sockets, and from that point on they are found at intervals on the edge or on the slope of the terrace, running a little south of east. A line of blocks, fallen over but still maintaining their relative positions, runs in a curve around the upper edge of the small hollow, the supposed theatre site,⁵ then, a few paces further east, crosses the Kriekouki road, and finally is lost among the rocks. From the round tower at *E'* traces of a wall run a short distance to the west, presumably part of the wall just described.

³ THUCYDIDES, III. 24.

⁴ See MAP, *loc. cit.* There are sockets or slots cut in the rock at the edge of the terrace, as shown in the accompanying PLAN, PLATE XX. They are seven in number, and measure on an average 0.30×0.10 m., and 0.05 to 0.10 m. deep.

⁵ A well built wall was found below this hollow, to the north, running east and west, and may be one of the foundation-walls of the *skene*.

Two trenches, *g* and *h* (PLAN), were sunk running north and south across the terrace, and, after half an hour of work a wall of poros stone (*K* in *Temple Plan restored*, PLATE XX) was laid bare in each of them, a few centimetres below the surface. PLATE XXI.1 gives wall *K* looking east, and shows the longitudinally arranged blocks, and one block of the course placed transversely. Half a dozen men who were at work near the north edge of the plateau (a little to the east of *Church II* in the MAP published last year), where one of my workmen said that, some years before, he had seen some "yellow columns,"⁶ were summoned to the task of following out the walls we had just discovered, and of sinking additional trenches. In this work about four days were spent. As is shown on the PLAN, the interior and cross-walls were laid bare over their whole extent, the outer wall being cut by trenches at intervals and thoroughly cleared at the corners.

To describe the excavations we will begin at the west and leave the main building till the last. Two long trenches (*a* and *c*) were sunk east and west, and another (*b*) between them, running north. In the trenches *b* and *a*, the rock surface was met with 0.20–0.40 m. down, and nothing was found except a few pieces of squared poros. In trench *c*, a kind of shelf was uncovered, running almost exactly east and west, in a line with the wall *K* of the main building, and distant from it 8 metres. It is 13.50 m. long, about 1 m. wide, and 0.35 m. high, cut very roughly out of the rock, ending indeterminately in the rock at either end as well as on the southern side, and finished off on top with coarse red tiles. Its purpose is unknown; but, judging from the tiles, it must be, at the earliest, of Roman date.

At the northwest corner of the main building, a small wall (*N*) was uncovered. It forms a right angle, and as shown in the PLAN is not oriented like the other walls. The eastern arm measures 6.60×0.80 m., and the southern 5.60×1.40 m. (exterior). Only three blocks of the original structure were found *in situ*, at the east end, where they have a total length of 0.90 m., and are 0.60 m. wide and 0.35 m. high. The rest of the original wall is easily traced by the flat, shallow groove cut in the native rock for the reception of the wall-blocks. Two

⁶ Part of a Roman unfluted column, of white marble, was found half exposed. I unfortunately neglected to measure it, but judge that its diameter is about 0.40 m., and its remaining length 1.70 m. Some Roman building will probably be found at or near this point. Part of a similar column lies south of *Church III*.

or three other blocks were found at the east end of this wall, perhaps *in situ* and intended as bases, but not connected with *N*. A similar, though smaller wall (*O*) was found at the southwest angle, the blocks composing the lowest course being still *in situ*. The northern arm measures 4 m. \times 0.70 m., while the western arm is only 1.43×0.90 m. (exterior). Both these walls may be the foundations for some superstructure, such as inscribed slabs or steles.

Trenches, *d*, *f*, were sunk to the north of the large building, but with no result, the rock lying very close to the surface and occasionally cropping out. The original trenches, *g*, *h*, were also carried down to bed-rock, but nothing was found in them outside the wall *L*. The trenches *i*, *k*, to the east, also proved of very slight importance, the only thing found in them being a water-conduit in *i*, made of \sqcup -shaped terracotta drain-tiles, 0.58 m. long, 0.22 m. wide, and 0.19 m. high, joined apparently without cement. They are of exactly the same shape and dimensions as the drain-tiles discovered last year at *Church V*. The drain was laid on the surface of the rock, had no cover and was in a much broken condition when found. The total length uncovered was 6 metres; *i. e.*, 10 tiles. It ran down due north, then bent about 10° to the east, but was not followed up when it passed out of the straight trench.

The inner walls of the large building were all laid bare, so as to determine the plan with certainty, and the trenches were, in almost all cases, both here and in the other excavations, carried to bed-rock. Apart from the main walls, very little of interest was found, though quite a number of small objects were brought to light. Numerous fragments of bronze were met with, chiefly inside the building toward the west, and also near the southwest corner, just outside the wall *L*. This bronze was in the shape of roughly made rings, long helices of wire (the diameter of the wire being 0.005–0.001 m.), a few simple fibulae, and parts of two bowls; one consisted merely of a few fragments, while the other was almost entire, but was very much corroded and had been badly flattened out of shape. It was of very thin sheet-metal (about 0.002 m. thick) and ornamented in *repoussé* with narrow flutings radiating from a circle at the bottom up the sides. When perfect it may have been 0.15 m. in diameter and 0.06 m. deep. At various depths were found the following terracottas: a small figure of a seated woman, a veil over her head, but the features almost indistinguishable (0.10 m. high), of very simple workmanship, similar to

many found on the Acropolis and elsewhere ; parts of two horses (?) of archaic type (like those found at Tiryns and Mykenai), one fragment showing traces of painting ; and over thirty lenticular clay spinning-whorls, 0.05 m. across. The figurine was found near the N. E. angle, the horse fragments, one near the S. W., the other near the N. E. angle, and the whorls along the wall *C*. A few beads, fragments of glass, a small copper coin of Licinius (307 A. D.), and a piece apparently of a human jaw-bone, were also met with, the last at a depth of over a metre at the N. E. angle. Inside the building and along the outside of the wall *H*, we came upon a layer of blackened earth, a few centimetres thick, and lying on the rock. Fragments of coarse, red, unglazed pottery were met with in this layer, but no bronze.

All the remaining walls, with the exception of the blocks composing *N* and *O* (which are of a coarse gray conglomerate marble), are built of smoothly cut blocks of poros⁷ stone. This is a very soft, nearly white, friable, finely grained limestone, apparently deposited from water, and resembling some of the Roman travertine. Though almost chalky and readily scratched with the finger-nail on a fresh surface, it hardens very decidedly on exposure to the air, darkening considerably and becoming a dirty yellow.⁸

The main axis of the building lies E. 10° S. (magnetic) ; its total exterior length is 49.90 m. ; its exterior width, 16.70 m.

The outer wall, *AHGL*, 2.55 m. wide, is built of smoothly cut blocks, 2.55 m. long, 1.20 m. wide, and 0.40 m. high, laid without clamps or mortar, and fitted so closely that on the upper surface it is difficult to distinguish the joints. The lowest course rests on the bed-rock, a very shallow, flat trench having been cut for its reception. The greatest

⁷ There is great lack of definiteness in the use of the word *poros*, which is made to include almost all soft, light-colored stones, not palpably marble or hard limestone. In the majority of cases it is a sort of travertine, again a shell-conglomerate, and occasionally a sandstone or some decomposed rock, containing serpentine or other hydrated minerals. Mr. ERNEST GARDNER, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1890 (p. 263 note), speaks of this indefiniteness. Some proper understanding should be arrived at on the subject, and the different kinds better discriminated, as in some cases the differences are important. Cf. NEUMANN and PARTSCH, *Phys. Geog. Griech.*, p. 261 and note 1 ; LEPSIUS, *Griech. Marmorstudien*, p. 117.

⁸ Chemical tests showed the presence of small quantities of iron, which gives the color, and also some alumina and magnesia, but it is nearly pure calcium carbonate, in the form of aragonite. This poros probably comes from a ridge, which runs down to the north from Mt. Kithairon, about 1½ mile east of the plateau, and on which stands the chapel of Synalipsi (*sic*).

number of courses *in situ* at any point is four, at the N. E. angle, where bed-rock was struck at a depth of 1.65 m.; while of the south wall, *L*, only two courses are left, and of the north, *H*, only one. Of the east wall, *A*, there remains only a length of 7.30 m. At the southeast corner, an L-shaped block of gray marble,⁹ *P*, was found *in situ*, resting on the poros foundation. It measures 2.75×2.70 m. and is 0.36 m. thick. The two outer faces are cut with a slight step, while the four inner ones are smoothed at the upper edge, and cut in rather deeply and roughly below. On the top, which is quite smooth, at three of the four inside edges are six T-shaped holes for T-clamps, in pairs. They are 0.16 m. long (the crossbar 0.07 m.), 0.015 m. wide, and 0.05 m. deep. The outer faces of this block are flush with the poros wall below it. At the northwest corner was found, not *in situ*, a block of an upper course of the crepidoma, showing the face of one of the steps; the block is of gray marble, 0.50 m. long, 0.40 m. wide, and 0.32 m. high, broken in all three directions, so that these figures merely approximate the original size. The bottom is quite smooth, and the outer face shows the three bands, so common at the bottom of the vertical face of the steps of a crepidoma. These bands measure respectively, .035 m., .038 m. and .052 m., beginning from the bottom, and each is at back .004 m. from the one above it. The platform *M*, at the west end, measuring 11.30×2.25 m., is constructed of poros blocks similar to those of the outer foundation-wall, and is apparently of the same period. It is much shattered at the edges, and it is difficult to determine its former extent.

The inner walls, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *K*, *I*, are all 1.25 m. wide, except *C*, which is 1.30 m. They are built of blocks 1.25 m. long, 0.55–0.65 m. wide, and 0.40 m. high, these blocks being in alternate courses laid longitudinally and transversely (headers and stretchers), closely fitted without clamps or mortar. On the inner end of one of the transverse blocks of the wall *K*, is cut a mason's mark, ϵ , at the upper edge of the stone. The blocks shown at *n*, as found in chamber *B*, are of poros stone and from inner walls, but not *in situ*. All the space between the walls is filled with earth containing some stones. The dimensions of the various divisions are given in the PLAN, and

⁹ This marble, the material of the blocks at *N* and *O*, and very generally used at Plataia, was quarried from the slopes of Mt. Kithairon, or perhaps on the plateau itself, though no signs of a quarry have been found. It is of a dark-gray color, sub-crystalline, rather coarse-grained, and generally of a conglomerate structure.

so need not be set forth here.¹⁰ A small fragment of a Doric column of poros, about 0.275 m. in diameter, was found on the surface.

All the remains found have now been described, and we have to reconstruct the temple as far as possible, and to determine its age and the divinity to whom it was dedicated.¹¹ We are greatly hampered by the fact that, with the exception of two fragments of the crepidoma, only foundation-walls are left, not a piece of marble or any part of the upper structure having been found near the spot.

The ground-plan shows that we have to deal with a peripteral

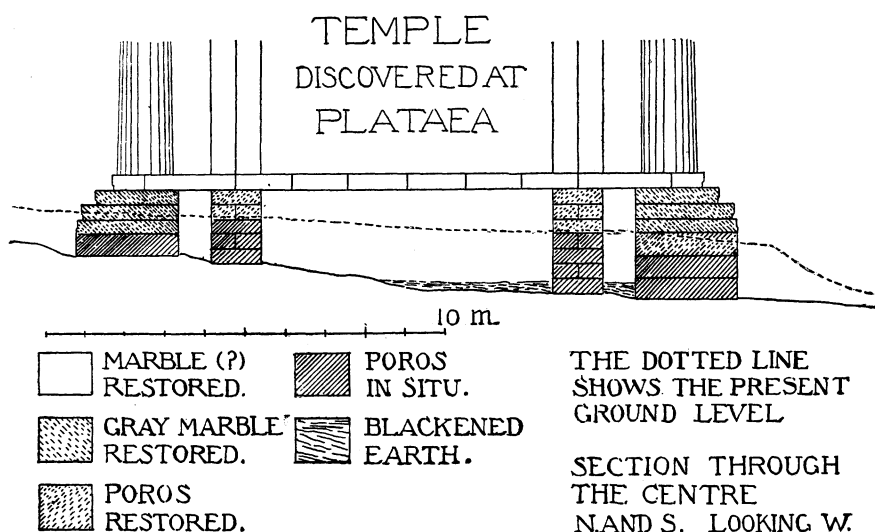


FIGURE 6.

temple, presumably, indeed certainly, Doric. The stereobate¹² is readily restored from similar buildings, and may safely be set down as having had three courses of steps, resting on a lower course of gray marble, of which the block *P* is the only extant fragment. The setback of the first step from the edge of the bottom course may be esti-

¹⁰ Fragments of roofing-tiles are scattered over the terrace. They are of baked clay, covered with a dull yellowish-gray glaze and of a Λ shape, the angle very obtuse. A small square projection for fastening is seen on some pieces, but not enough is left of any one to give the dimensions.

¹¹ The writer wishes to record his thanks to Dr. WILHELM DÖRPFELD and Professor FRANK B. TARBELL for their valuable suggestions and assistance.

¹² See section, *Figure 6*.

mated at 0.10 m., and that of the two upper steps from those below at 0.40 m., giving a top surface to the stylobate of 1.65 m. Allowing 0.15 m. on each side, we get a column-diameter of 1.35 m. (about the size of the columns of the Heraion at Olympia). This gives us a distance of 13.30 m. from centre to centre of the angle-columns on the ends, and 46.50 m. on the flanks. Eight columns at the end would give an average intercolumniation of 1.85 m., which is much too narrow, as it would leave only 0.20 m. between the columns; so we may be assured that the temple was hexastyle, with an average intercolumniation on the fronts of 2.66 m. Placing the two angle-columns nearer to their neighbors than the others by 0.25–0.30 m., the usual difference in early Doric buildings, we get the intercolumniation of 2.70 m. for the inner, and 2.43 m. for the outer columns.

The number of columns on the sides cannot be determined with the same certainty. Dörpfeld has pointed out¹³ that in early Doric temples the intercolumniation of the sides is less than that of the fronts, citing the Heraion at Olympia, the old Athena temple on the Athenian acropolis, and the temple at Corinth. The least number of columns on the sides corresponding to this law is 19, with an intercolumniation of 2.58 m. But, as far as the writer has examined the subject, no temple with 19 columns is known with certainty, and hence it has seemed better to restore the present temple as having 18 columns on the flanks, with an intercolumniation of 2.74 m., only slightly greater than that of the ends. Our restoration is consequently drawn in accordance with this view, though 19 may have been the correct number. Durm¹⁴ mentions only one temple, the Artemision at Syracuse, as having 18 columns, and that instance does not appear to be free from doubt.¹⁵


The two columns *in antis* have a diameter of about one metre. The plan of the cella is an unusual one, there being three cross-walls, *C*, *D*, *E*, which form, beside the pronaos, naos, and opisthodomos, an additional small chamber, *S*. It cannot now be made out from the remains in which direction this room opened; that is, whether the door was in the wall *E*, or in *D*, since of course no traces of the doorway exist on the foundation-walls remaining. It seems probable, however, that the door was in the wall *E*, as indicated in the PLAN,

¹³ *Mith. Athen*, 1886, p. 303.

¹⁴ *Baukunst der Griechen*, p. 76.




¹⁵ [The "Basilica" (probably Temple of Demeter and Persephone) at Paestum has 18 columns on the flanks.—T. W. L.]

the chamber *S* thus opening upon the opisthodomos, as at Corinth¹⁶ and in the Parthenon, and probably being used as the treasury of the temple. It is hardly large enough to have been a separate sanctuary, as at Corinth. Both pronaos and opisthodomos are unusually deep relatively to the width, the pronaos being the deeper by 1.10 m. All the superstructure, as well as the stylobate, may have been built of marble, which would account for the complete absence of any parts of it, owing to the destruction by the Byzantines and Turks of this material in making lime. The small column mentioned above does not fit in anywhere, and undoubtedly belongs to some other building. The occurrence of the "votive sockets," the walls *N* and *O*, and the platform *M*, which was probably the basis of an inclined plane or flight of steps leading to the temple at the west end, and the total absence of such remains at the east, are all features of interest.¹⁷

The date of the temple whose remains are before us can be taken as of the fifth, or perhaps the sixth century B. C., on the evidence both of the -clamps,¹⁸ seen in block *P*, and of the style and workmanship of the masonry.¹⁹ The column-ratio of 6:18, as well as the arrangement of the cella, point to an early date.²⁰ It is possible that the plan and foundation-walls are of an early date, say the sixth century, while the superstructure was later, of the fifth or even the fourth century. The layer of blackened earth which has been described points to some building which once stood on the site and was destroyed by fire. I will endeavor to show later that the superstructure, at least, dates from 427 B. C.

¹⁶ *Mith. Athen*, xi, p. 297.

¹⁷ [The inclined plane may possibly have been used for processions arriving from the town (which would then lie mainly to the west or southwest of the temple) in order to ascend at the west end, divide into two bodies, and pass through the colonnade on either side to the east entrance.—C. W.]

¹⁸ -clamps were used, it is true, in the Choragic monument of Nikias at Athens (320–19 B. C.), while contemporaneous buildings at Olympia show the  form (DÖRPFELD in *Mith. Athen*, 1885, p. 227). The  shape, however, was in general use throughout the fifth century, and is characteristic of the work of the best period.

¹⁹ Dr. DÖRPFELD, judging from my description, notes, and drawings, expresses the opinion that the outer walls were of the sixth or fifth century B. C., and that the inner walls might be as late as the fourth century, but were probably earlier.

²⁰ Cf. Temple *C* at Selinous (6:17) about 600 B. C., and the Heraion at Olympia (6:16). [The newer temple at Lokroi (6:17 columns), also with very deep pronaos and opisthodomos, is probably not older than the middle of the fifth century.—T. W. L.]

Now for the identification of our temple, and of the divinity to whom it was dedicated. Fortunately our range of selection is very narrow, only four temples, these of Hera, Athena Areia, Eleusinian Demeter, and Artemis Eukleia, being mentioned by the ancient writers as existing at Plataia. Pausanias (IX. 2) mentions an altar to Zeus Eleutherios, but there seems to have been no temple to him. He also speaks of a heroon to the nymph Plataia (*loc. cit.*), apparently a small chapel, as he does not describe it. Herodotos,²¹ Thukydides²² and Plutarch²³ mention a heroon of Androkrate; but this lay near the fountain Gargaphia, in the plain, twenty stades from the city. The temple of the Eleusinian Demeter²⁴ also lay at a distance from the city, on the mountain-slope near a spot called Argiopios; and so our choice lies between Hera, Athena, and Artemis. The temple of Artemis is mentioned only once, by Plutarch,²⁵ and, as Pausanias does not speak of it, it may be safely assumed that it was small or of little importance. Of the temple to Athena, we learn from Pausanias²⁶ and Plutarch²⁷ that it was erected at a cost of eighty talents out of the Plateans' share of the booty from the battle in 479 B. C., that it contained an acrolithic statue of Athena by Pheidias, and that it was adorned with paintings by Polygnotos. Herodotos, strange to say, makes no mention of it, though he goes into great detail about the division of the spoil.

Of the Heraion we fortunately have fuller information. It is first mentioned at the time of the battle in 479 B. C., when the left wing of the Greek army, falling back in some disorder from the spring Gargaphia, retreated toward the city and took up their stand in front of the sacred precinct of Hera,²⁸ which, according to Herodotos, "lay before the city" (*πρὸ τῆς πόλεως*). Pausanias, the Spartan general of the allied forces, who was stationed at Argiopios, near the temple of Demeter, looked toward the Heraion and prayed to the goddess when the sacrifices continued unfavorable.²⁹ We next hear of it in Thukydides (III. 68), who relates how, after the close of the siege of Plataia, (427 B. C.), when the Thebans had razed the city about a year later, they first built an inn (*καταγώγιον*), 200 feet square, near the Heraion, made and dedicated couches to Hera, and built in her honor a "stone

²¹ HEROD., IX. 25.²² THUK., III. 24.²³ PLUT., *Vita Aristid.*, XI.²⁴ HEROD., IX. 57; PLUT., *loc. cit.* Cf. Mr. Hunt's paper in *AJA*, VI, pp. 463-75.²⁵ PLUT., *Vita Aristid.*, XX.²⁶ PAUS., IX. 4.²⁷ PLUT., *Vita Aristid.*, XX.²⁸ HEROD., IX. 52.²⁹ HEROD., IX. 61; PLUT., *Vita Aristid.*, XVIII.

temple of a hundred feet" (*νεὼν ἑκατόμποδον λίθινον*). Pausanias (IX. 2), writing in the second century A. D., says that it is well worth seeing on account of its size and the beauty of its statues, of which he mentions two by Praxiteles, and one by Kallimachos.

We can now compare our observed facts with the statements of the above mentioned writers, and form an opinion whether we have here a temple of Hera or one of Athena. There is, of course, the alternative that our temple was dedicated to some other divinity, not mentioned by the Greek authors; but, as the remains show that the temple was a large one and in a commanding position, this supposition may be safely dismissed. All the evidence seems to point to identification with the Heraion, the largest and most important temple at Plataia. In the first place, there is no evidence either for or (directly) against identification with the temple of Athena, with regard to which our information is scanty and not precise; so we may exclude this temple and confine our discussion to the Heraion.

To start with the position, we find that the site of our temple agrees well with the words of Herodotos, *πρὸ τῆς πόλιος*, and also with the description of Pausanias, who speaks of it as if it were *inside* the city when he saw it. Judging from the remains of the city-walls,³⁰ we know that at the time of the great battle the city of Plataia lay at the upper, *i. e.*, the southern, end of the plateau, and that it occupied only a small area is shown by the fact that during the siege in 427 B. C. a force of 480 men was sufficient to hold the city.³¹ This being the case, the town would slope down toward the broad end of the plateau and face the north, so that the preposition *πρὸ* is the natural one to use of a building situated as is the newly discovered one. By the time of Pausanias, however, the town had grown down the slope, and, as shown by the walls, probably occupied most of the space to the north of the upper cross-wall,³² the newly discovered wall being apparently the northern limit of the city at this time; so that, when Pausanias saw the town, our temple must have lain inside the city-walls, just as he speaks of it.

The incident of the retreat of the left wing of the Greeks from the fountain of Gargaphia toward the city, also points to the identity of our building with the Heraion. As related by Herodotos, the Greeks intended to fall back from Gargaphia upon the so-called Island, which

³⁰ Cf. paper by the author in JOURNAL, vol. VI, No. 4.

³¹ THUK., II. 78.

³² Cf. MAP, AJA, vol. VI, PLATE XXIII.

lay in front of the city, but, taking fright at the Persian cavalry, they fled toward the city itself and halted at the Heraion. Now the road to Thebes, leading past or near the "Island," would probably be crossed by the retreating Greeks, and would be the most natural route to take back to the town, marching upon it being much easier and quicker than in the heavy fields on either side. Then, as mentioned above, there is a gentle ascent to the plateau between *V* and *W*, and straight across the path of the advancing body of men stretches the moderately high and steep slope of the temple-terrace, enough to check their onward rush. The sanctity of the spot would appeal to them as a protection, and on the plateau just below the site of our temple they would naturally halt, under the shadow of the sanctuary of the great goddess of the Plataeans. A glance at the map of Plataia will make the position clear.

It may also be brought forward, in support of our view, that the temple in question would be visible from the spot fixed upon by Mr. Hunt as the site of the temple of Demeter. This argument is of no great weight, as Pausanias perhaps looked only *toward* the Heraion. The roof of it would probably be visible to him, or enough of it to give him an idea of where it lay.

The small clay figurine may be a votive copy of the seated statue of Hera by Kallimachos which was known as the "Bride."³³ Hera, as the bride of Zeus, is commonly represented with a veil, and the figurine has a veil over her head. We know that Hera was the chief goddess of Plataia, and that our temple was an important one is shown by its size alone, since it is larger than the Temple of Apollo at Bassæ, or the Heraion at Olympia. The coin of Licinius also goes to show that our temple was standing in his time and hence must have been seen by Pausanias. All these facts being taken into account, the conclusion that we have here the Heraion is a very natural one.

There is, however, another line of argument which points to the same conclusions with reference both to the date of erection and to the builders of our temple. This is based on what Thukydides says of the action of the Thebans after the close of the siege of Plataia, in 427 B. C. On the MAP of Plataia there appears, on the level surface of the plateau just below our temple, a spot marked *Agora*, where there is a wall, 31.80 m. long, with about eight piers in the same line. This wall and the piers are of the Roman period and built in *opus incertum*, of rubble and mortar. This was probably

³³ PAUSANIAS, IX. 2. 3.

the Agora of the Roman town, and it seems probable that it was built on the site of the old *καταγώγιον*, erected by the Thebans for the "reception of those who might come to worship at the temple of Juno,"³⁴ and who would have no accommodations after the destruction of the city. Such a building, the resort of pilgrims and merchants, would naturally become, in course of time, the commercial centre of the new-built city, and might well be replaced by the Roman Agora. If this is indeed the case, our temple is undoubtedly the Heraion; and we have further evidence to the same effect in the layer of blackened earth, which proves that an earlier building once existed on the site. This earlier building may have been destroyed by the Persians, before the battle of Salamis, or perhaps by the Thebans, though it is unlikely that they would have burned a temple of Hera.³⁵ It seems hardly probable, however, that they would build a new temple; though they may perhaps have pulled down the old structure to replace it by one more splendid. The plan in its disposition is evidently pre-Persian; and it may very well be that the Thebans used the old foundations, and made a new superstructure of marble, which would accord with the use of the word *λίθινον*.

We get further confirmation of this view from a consideration of the word *ἐκατόμπεδος* and an examination of the dimensions of our temple. It is well known that the naos of the Athenian temple of Athena was called Hekatompedon from its length of 100 Attic feet, without counting the end walls, one Attic foot corresponding to 0.308 metre. Adding the lengths of the compartments *Q, R, S, T*, and the walls *C, D, E* (leaving out the walls *B, F*), in the plan of our temple, we get a length of 35.30 m., only 4.50 m. longer than the 30.80 m. required. The difference is not great, and it is very probable that the term was used merely as an approximation.³⁶

All the facts and arguments thus seem to point to the conclusion that the newly discovered temple is the famous Heraion, and that it was built by the Thebans in the year 426-5, after the destruction of an earlier temple on the same site. This being the case, the statue

³⁴ ARNOLD, *Note to Thuc.*, III. 68.

³⁵ If they did, the new temple and the dedicatory couches may be considered as offerings in expiation.

³⁶ [From the east side of wall *E* to the columns at *B* is a length of 30 m., which is very close to that of the Athenian Hekatompedon. If this view is adopted, it is probable that the chamber *S* opened into the cella *R*, as at Segesta.—C. W.]

of Rhea by Praxiteles would have stood in the chamber *Q*, the pro-naos, while the large statue of Hera would have been at the west end of the naos, *R*. The seated statue of Hera, by Kallimachos, may also have stood in the same room, or may possibly have been in *S* or *T*.

It is greatly to be regretted that no inscription was found to settle the matter beyond all cavil; and further excavation on the site might yield something of importance.

HENRY S. WASHINGTON.

Venice,

September 17, 1891.

APPENDIX.

A few objects of slight importance were brought to light during the excavations which do not affect the main subject of interest.

In the excavations last year and also this year, there were found at *Church I* several (about half a dozen) small stone implements or tools. They are of a very light brown, translucent, obsidian, of a long, blade-like shape, pointed at one end, with an obtuse triangular section, and bent slightly convex toward the apex. In length they are 0.05–6 m., in breadth about 0.05 m., and in thickness (apex to base of section) about 0.02 m. As they are too slender for cutting- or scraping-blades, the only obvious explanation seems to be that they were arrow-heads, though their slight curvature would apparently be a disadvantage. Some specimens are among the small articles in the so-called museum at Kokla.

One of my workmen pointed out to me an inscription which he had uncovered earlier in the spring when ploughing a small field at *Church VII*. It is on the flat face of a block of white marble, 0.67 m. long. by 0.30 m. high, which is apparently the dripstone of an Ionic entablature, with the egg-and-dart and reel-and-bead mouldings above. The inscription, in letters 0.02 m. high, of the second century A. D., is complete in the beginning, but ends with the broken stone at the right. It runs as follows: $\text{ἹΕΟΔΑΓΕΤΙΚΗ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡΟΤΟΤΟ}$, which may be read: $\text{ἹΕΟ ἁγ(ιος) ἐπίσκ(οπος) Διονυσῶδωρος το[ῦτο ἀνέθηκεν]}$. "The holy bishop Dionysodoros dedicated this." The inscription is evidently very much later than the dripstone, which is of very good workmanship.

Several short inscriptions found last year may be inserted here, as they are still unpublished.

1. Broken slab of white marble 0.45×0.14 m., found at a ruined church above the Vergoutiani Spring where Mr. Hunt places the Temple of Demeter. Letters about 0.10 m. high.

Ο ΕΙΩΑΥΤΩΝΚΟΙΜΗΙ

2. Fragment of late unfluted column of white marble, 0.24 m. high, 0.15 m. through, at a small ruined chapel of St. Demetrios, east of the plateau. Letters about 0.02 m. high.

C O / Λ Π
 Α Ρ Τ Ε Μ
 Φ Ι Λ Ο C O

3. Fragment of slab, of white marble, 0.23 m. high, 0.15 m. wide and 0.05 m. thick. Letters 0.02 m. high. From the "theatre site."

Ν Υ Μ Ο Σ
 Λ Ο Υ

HENRY S. WASHINGTON.

Venice,
 September 17, 1891.





NO. 1.—WALL K, LOOKING EAST.



NO. 2.—N. W. CORNER, LOOKING SOUTHEAST.